Butrint Archaeological Monographs

BUTRINT 4

THE ARCHAEOLOGY AND HISTORIES OF AN IONIAN TOWN

Inge Lyse Hansen, Richard Hodges and Sarah Leppard

OXBOW BOOKS FOR THE BUTRINT FOUNDATION

Oxbow Books
Oxford and Oakville

Published by
Oxbow Books, Oxford, UK

© Oxbow Books, Inge Lyse Hansen, Richard Hodges, Sarah Leppard
and the individual authors 2013

ISBN 978-1-84217-462-3

This book is available direct from

Oxbow Books, Oxford, UK
(Phone: 01865-241249; Fax: 01865-794449)

and

The David Brown Book Company
PO Box 511, Oakville, CT 06779, USA
(Phone: 860-945-9329; Fax: 860-945-9468)

or from our website
www.oxbowbooks.com

A CIP record is available for this book from the British Library

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Butrint 4 : the archaeology and histories of an Ionian town / [edited by] Inge Lyse Hansen, Richard Hodges and Sarah Leppard.
p. cm.
Includes bibliographical references and index.
ISBN 978-1-84217-462-3
1. Butrint (Albania)--Antiquities. 2. Excavations (Archaeology)--Albania--Butrint. 3. Butrint (Albania)--History. I. Hansen, Inge Lyse. II. Hodges, Richard. III. Leppard, Sarah. IV. Title: Butrint four.
DR998.B88B88 2012
939'.465--dc23

2012030401

Front cover: View of Butrint, Lake Butrint (right) and the Straits of Corfu (rear)
Back cover: Details of objects and images from Butrint: 13th-century RMR ware dish; 2nd-century togate statue; 11th-century Benno brooch; 18th-century Venetian map; 1980s inscription; 10th-century silver earrings; 5th/6th-century mosaic pavement

Printed in Great Britain by
Short Run Press, Exeter

10 The western cemetery: archaeological survey of Roman tombs along the Vivari Channel

David R. Hernandez and John Mitchell

The ancient Greek and Roman city of Butrint (*Buthrotum*) was a seaport occupying a fortified headland on the coast of Epirus.[1] Naturally oriented toward the Ionian Sea by a navigable waterway (Vivari Channel), Butrint benefited from maritime trade across the Strait of Otranto, the primary Hellenistic and Roman trade route between Italy and the East on the northern Mediterranean coastline. The city expanded substantially during the 2nd century BC and the 2nd century AD, with the establishment, first, of a lower city at the foot of the acropolis hill, and, then, with widespread development across the Butrint peninsula and beyond onto the Vrina Plain.[2] West of the city, beyond the narrow isthmus, which connects the Butrint headland to the Ksamil peninsula, the southern slopes of Mount Sotira became the city's main necropolis throughout the Hellenistic and Roman periods (cf. Figs 1.2 and 1.9).

With a number of monumental tombs and burials having been discovered on the lower slopes of the hill near Butrint, the investigation in 2004 explored the western limits of the cemetery. A six-week archaeological survey was undertaken to examine an area of almost 11,000 m^2 located *c.* 1 km west of the ancient city; this focused exclusively on the cemetery occupying a concave hollow on the lowest slope of Mount Sotira (Fig. 10.1). The area was bound on the north by the original Saranda–Butrint road and on the south by a marsh, which runs from the base of the hill to the Vivari Channel. The eastern and western limits of the area extended up to two military bunkers, built adjacent to the road and connected by a long ditch, fortified by concrete. The survey discovered substantial remains of tombs in six general areas, and in all identified 23 funerary structures, four of which were freestanding monumental Roman tombs.

The area along the entire lower slopes of Mount Sotira is now heavily overgrown; however, the tombs documented in the survey represent a good sample of the character and density of funerary structures in this area. This chapter presents the results of the survey, contextualised by a review of prior research undertaken in this necropolis. What became clear from the survey is that the most prominent Roman memorials fronted the Vivari Channel, the maritime route of entry into the city.

Previous research on the ancient cemeteries at Butrint

Archaeological research in the western cemetery first began with the Italian Archaeological Mission in 1928 under the direction of Luigi Maria Ugolini. Ugolini investigated cemetery sites on the northern side of Butrint, outside the Lion Gate, and on the Vrina Plain. The greater focus of his efforts was directed towards the area beyond the western fortification walls of Butrint, on the isthmus between Lake Butrint and the Vivari Channel.[3] Here he excavated 56 tombs, though he published only 14 of these as a representative sample.[4] According to Ugolini, the chronology of interments ranged from the 4th century BC to the 3rd century AD, and the excavated tombs revealed a greater number of inhumation than cremation burials.[5] He classified the simple inhumation burials according to five general types: well-made burials lined by four limestone slabs and sealed by a fifth slab; pits lined with several smaller limestone slabs; pits lined with rough, unworked stones; burials in which tile and imbrices were used to cover the body; tile-lined pits sealed with unworked stones.[6] The most elaborate tomb excavated by Ugolini on the isthmus was a tower-type tomb for cremation burials (Fig. 10.1 (A)).[7] The lower level of this consisted of a barrel-vaulted cella with five niches, two on each lateral wall and one opposite the entrance (average dimensions: 0.40 × 0.42 × 0.45 m). Funerary artefacts, such as terracotta and glass cinerary urns, were discovered *in situ* within the niches. An external niche (0.55 × 0.42 × 0.95 m), located above the entrance of the cella, may originally have featured a bust or inscription honouring the deceased. Ugolini described the tomb as an *edicola funeraria*, because the original façade consisted of a two-storey colonnaded aedicule, and dated it to the 2nd century AD.[8] Although it is located near Lake Butrint, on the northern side of the isthmus, the tomb turns it back on the lake, facing southeast. Its orientation suggests that the

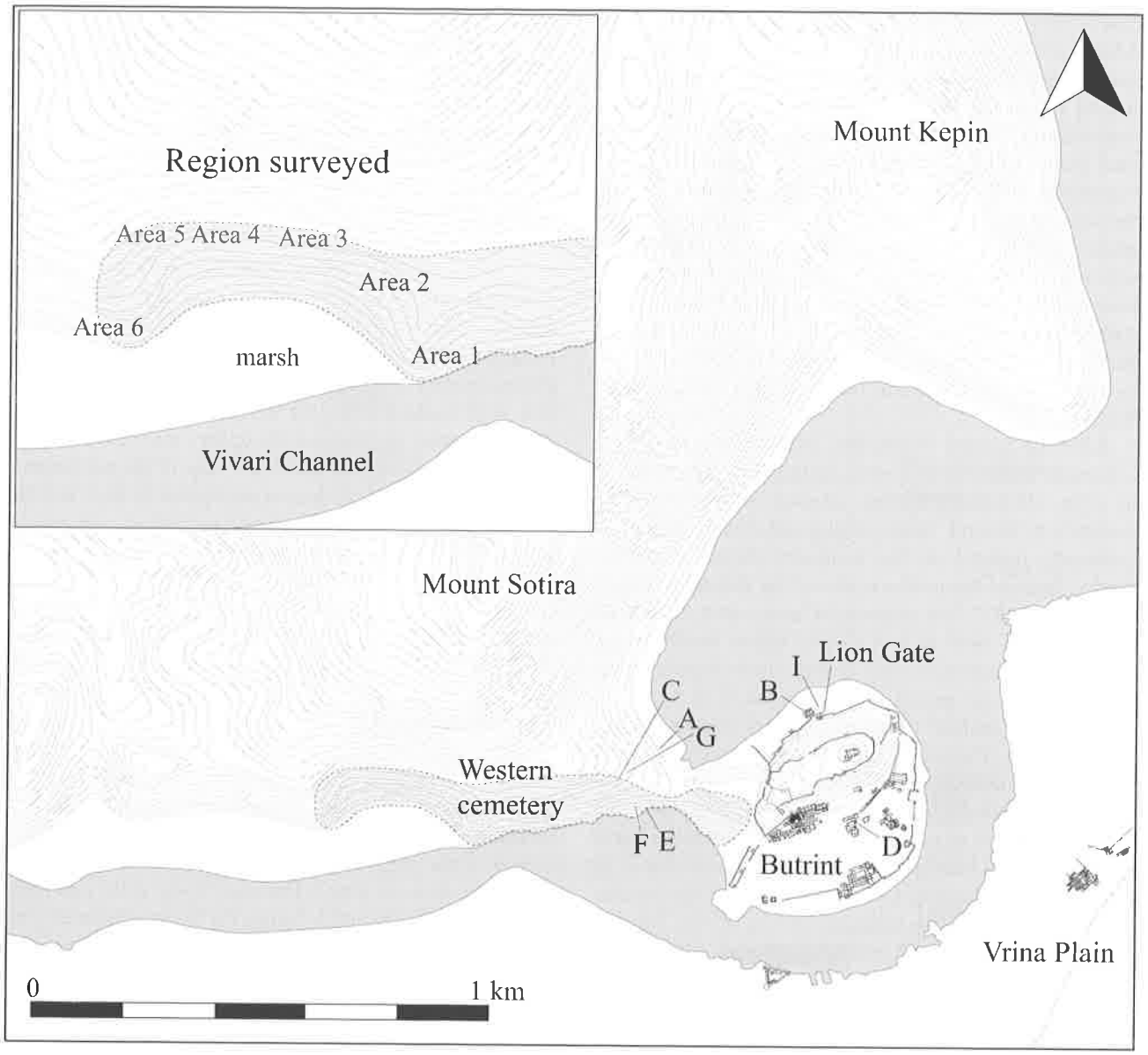

Figure 10.1. Area of the western cemetery surveyed

tomb looked across the ancient harbour, which may have occupied the southern bank of the isthmus.[9]

Outside the Lion Gate, Ugolini excavated the largest tomb presently known at Butrint (*c.* 15 × 9.5 × 9 m) (Fig. 10.1 (B)).[10] Originally supporting a vaulted roof, the central cella is divided into two corridors, which flank more than 25 stone-built sepulchres for inhumation burials and two rows of square niches (0.55 × 0.55 m) for cremation urns. The size of the tomb suggests that it belonged to a burial club, or a *collegium*, if the structure dates to the early Roman period. However, both the chronology and phasing of the tomb are uncertain.[11]

After Ugolini's death in 1936, Domenico Mustilli, the last director of the Italian Archaeological Mission, resumed the investigation of the necropolis. He excavated at least one large tomb in the western cemetery, as well as nine simple pit burials near it (Fig. 10.1 (C)).[12] He found the tomb completely robbed of materials, but on the evidence of the grave goods recovered from the nine simple burials, Mustilli proposed a date in the 2nd or 3rd century AD for these. The large tomb is located on Mount Sotira; it overlooks the isthmus and faces southward toward the Vivari Channel (cf. Fig. 9.21). Mustilli describes it as an aedicule type, following Ugolini's nomenclature. The tomb is elevated on a small square podium, and an external step leads up to a door (1.2 m wide). Three stone sarcophagi are arranged against the rear wall to give the tomb the appearance of a *triclinium*. An arched niche, perhaps for a shrine, flanked by two smaller rectangular niches for cremation burials (0.40 × 0.56 m; 0.34 × 0.54 m), occupies the central position of the rear wall above the sarcophagi.

In 1938, Mustilli excavated a monumental tomb within the walled city (Fig. 10.1 (D)).[13] The monument has a square

base (3.60 × 3.68 m) formed from limestone ashlar blocks. A base moulding above this features a repetitive three-fold *cyma reversa*. Above the moulding and recessed 0.55 m around it rise eight regular courses of white limestone blocks bonded by mortar. Remnants of the original barrel vault survive. The existing height of the monument is over two meters, and four columns or pilasters originally framed the four corners of the monument. The tomb is located approximately 16 m south of the Tower of Inscriptions, adjacent to the so-called Gymnasium, and appears to have been a roadside monument built outside the fortification walls during the late Hellenistic period.[14] The tomb is the only known funerary structure to have been preserved and incorporated into the urban fabric of the Roman city of Butrint itself.

After the Second World War, work on the necropolis continued under the Albanian Institute of Archaeology. In 1956, Dhimosten Budina, director of archaeological research at Butrint, discovered a previously unknown cemetery, located on the southern slopes of Mount Kepin, opposite the northern side of the Butrint headland (cf. Fig. 10.1).[15] The excavation uncovered 10 simple graves, which were of two general types. Seven graves contained cremation burials. Budina dates most of them to the Hellenistic period, on the evidence of the grave goods, which include ceramic and glass vessels, lamps, fishing hooks, a knife, and an engraved bone object. He assigned one cremation burial to the 1st century AD and three inhumation burials to the early Roman period.[16] The arrangement of nails found in one inhumation burial suggests that the body was placed in a wooden coffin (1.20 × 0.50 m).[17] According to Budina, many of the interred were fishermen, and he posits a thriving fishing industry in Hellenistic and early Roman times.

Budina's plan of Butrint, published in 1971, includes many tombs from the isthmus region of the necropolis.[18] Two excavation campaigns were later undertaken in 1980 and 1982 in an area of the western cemetery near the city's western fortification walls, which was previously unexplored.[19] Of the 41 burials excavated, Budina only discusses one in any detail, dating it to the Hellenistic period, between the 3rd and 2nd centuries BC; the other 40 he believed to be Roman, from the 1st to 3rd centuries AD.[20] A complete two-handled ceramic cinerary urn was found in the Hellenistic tomb, together with a strigil, flasks, lamps, cups, and a squat lekythos.[21]

In 2001 an assessment was made of the western cemetery by the Butrint Foundation as part of a management and conservation plan for the Butrint National Park.[22] Three large monumental masonry-built tombs and numerous simple burials were found concentrated near the western side of the isthmus. One tomb, oriented toward the Vivari Channel, in *opus mixtum*, is *c.* 6 m wide (Fig. 10.1 (E)). The preserved eastern and western walls, which are *c.* 1 m thick, supported a vaulted ceiling almost 6 m high. Near this structure, a ruined wall, now nestled in overgrown vegetation, belonged to another ancient tomb. The wall, which stands to a height of 1.25 m and is 0.70 m thick, has a curvature that generates a 6 m diameter if extended (Fig. 10.1 (F)). The tomb may have had the appearance of a semi-circular exedra tomb, similar in form to the well-known exedra tombs at Pompeii.[23] Above this tomb, on the upper slopes of Mount Sotira, another tomb (*c.* 5 m^2) contains at least two internal sepulchres for inhumation burials (Fig. 10.1 (G)).

Complementary to the western cemetery, on the northern bank of the Vivari Channel, is the cemetery on the Vrina Plain, on the channel's southern bank opposite Butrint (cf. Fig. 1.9). Geomorphological studies and large-scale excavations from 2002–2008 have shown that the Vrina Plain cemetery was situated right on the Roman-era shore line, with tombs fronting the water (cf. Figs 1.9 and 2.3).[24] The excavators encountered a boundary wall that separated the cemetery from the residential area of the settlement. Such walled cemeteries are not uncommon in Italy and the provinces of the Roman Empire.[25] Inscriptions discovered in the excavations demonstrate that the area was divided into funerary plots, which were sold according to frontal lengths.[26]

One two-storey tomb on the Vrina Plain is typologically similar to the "edicola funeraria" excavated by Ugolini.[27] The first storey contains a barrel-vaulted chamber with two internal niches for cremation burials. The two arched niches (0.44 × 0.43 × 0.56 m) are situated centrally in the eastern and western walls of the cella. The second storey, at present, is a solid rubble core resting above the vaulted chamber. Judging from similar tombs in Italy, this upper storey of the tomb may originally have had the form of a column drum or altar.[28] Entrance to the cella was from the north, with the tomb facing the Vivari Channel. The same is the case for a large vaulted tomb dating to the 2nd century AD.[29] This tomb, which contained a single sepulchre for an inhumation burial, is flanked by a series of buildings and small open-air spaces, which served as funerary enclosures. Two infant burials, dated to the 2nd century AD, were discovered in these structures. Given the context of the area, it is likely that the prominent 2nd-century AD column monument excavated close to the ancient shoreline also functioned as a Roman tomb.[30]

The 2004 survey of the western cemetery

The survey identified 23 tombs in six general areas. The tombs are numbered sequentially below, and their area location is indicated on Figure 10.1.

Tomb 1: The Painted Tomb (Area 1)

The tomb is located at the base of a steep slope at the eastern end of the surveyed area (Area 1), which is *c.* 600 m east of Butrint's modern entrance. Although the tomb is situated on the northern bank of the Vivari Channel, it now remains hidden from view, obscured by the dense vegetation that has enveloped the monument in modern times. In antiquity the

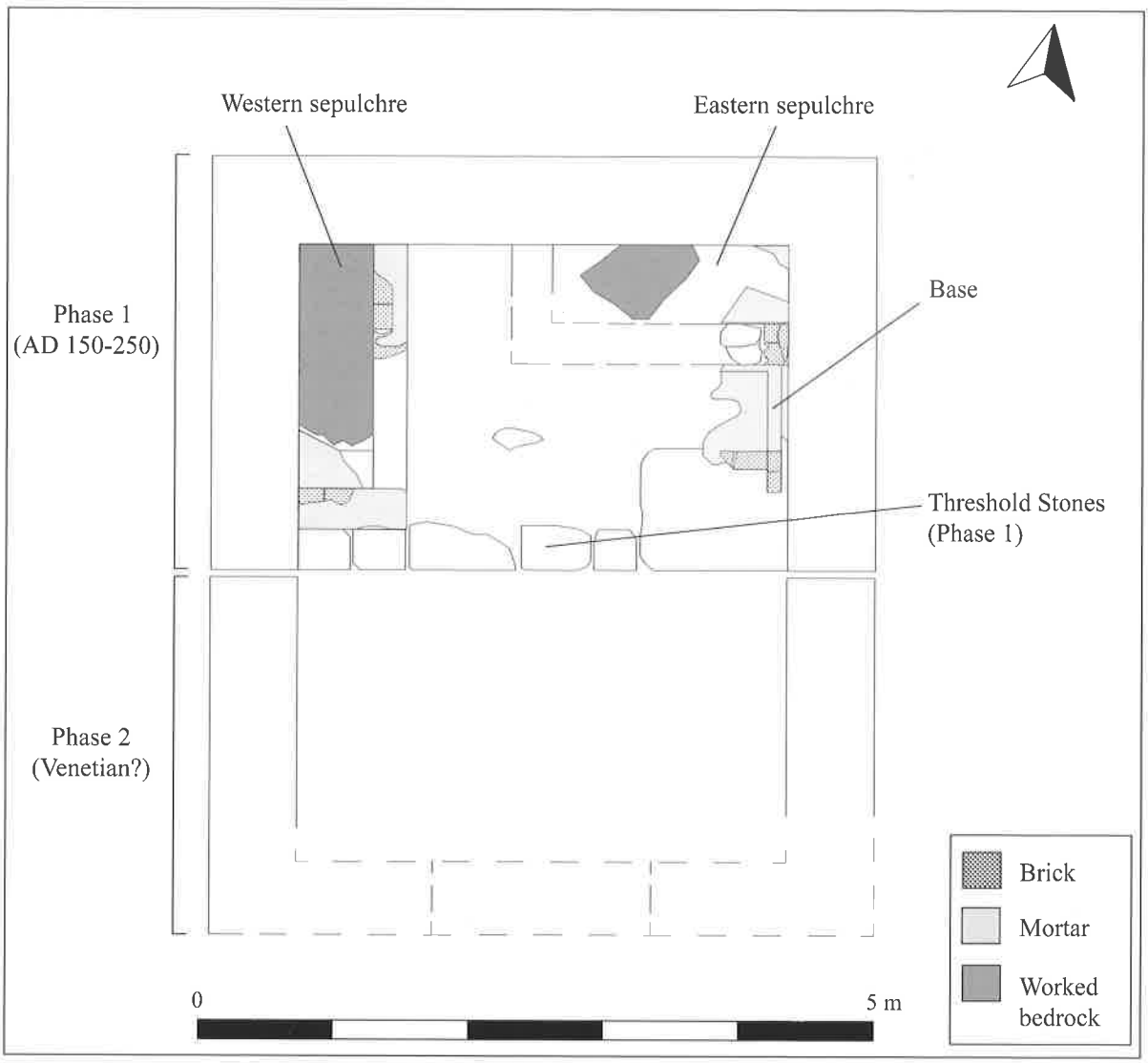

Figure 10.2. Plan of Tomb 1

tomb would have been visible along the Vivari Channel, as well as from the city's acropolis and the Vrina Plain.

The present structure was built in two phases. In its first phase, the monument was a shallow rectangular building, 4.92 m wide and 2.90 m deep, with a barrel-vaulted ceiling (Figs 10.2–8). The walls (0.65 m thick) were constructed in *opus mixtum*. The vault was constructed in a similar manner, though with a higher proportion of brick to stone. Fragments of the collapsed vaulting were found inside the tomb, together with two large boulders. Most of the vault appears to have been destroyed by boulders of dislodged bedrock, which were probably thrown downhill during the original construction of the Saranda–Butrint road in 1959. The monument with its vaulting still intact is depicted in a lithograph by Henry Cook entitled *The Robbers' Castle, Albania* published in 1853.[31] This shows the ruins of a vaulted building, undoubtedly Tomb 1, on the north bank of the Vivari Channel lying below the Venetian watchtower, which is still a prominent landmark near Butrint today.

The finished state of the southern ends of the eastern and western walls shows that the tomb in its original state did not have a front wall. The interior appears to have been open to the gaze of travellers along the Vivari Channel. However, a central threshold (1.73 × 0.33 m), made of three finely levelled stones, marks the entrance of the building on the south side. The three interior walls were articulated with a projecting horizontal cornice, which ran across the rear wall *c.* 1.90 m above the floor. On this rear wall, the cornice divided a lower rectangular field from an arched upper field defined by the vault. The upper moulding of the cornice projected in marked relief, formed on an armature of bricks set into the wall, covered with moulded plaster.

The tomb's interior contained two rectangular chambers for inhumation burials (Fig. 10.2). The exterior measurements of the eastern and western sepulchres are 0.88 × 2.05 m and 0.81 × 2.10 m, respectively (Figs 10.6, 10.8). The bases of the sepulchres consisted of truncated bedrock and levelled mortar floors. Their walls were

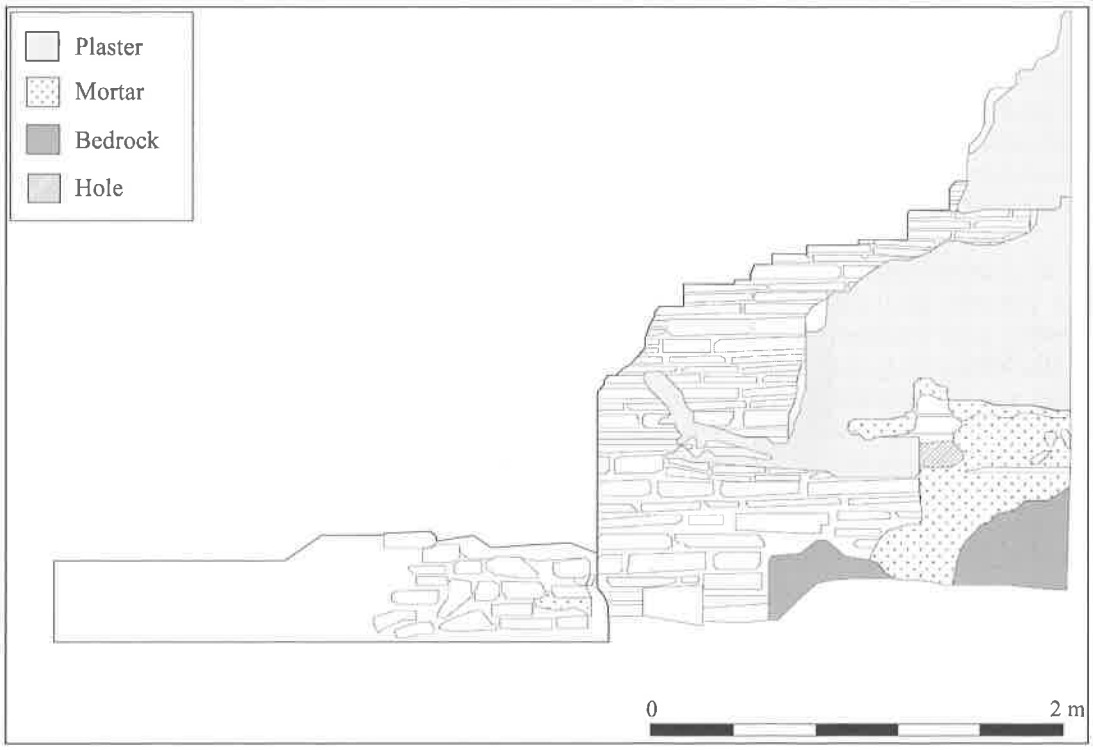

Figure 10.3. Western wall (east-facing elevation) of Tomb 1

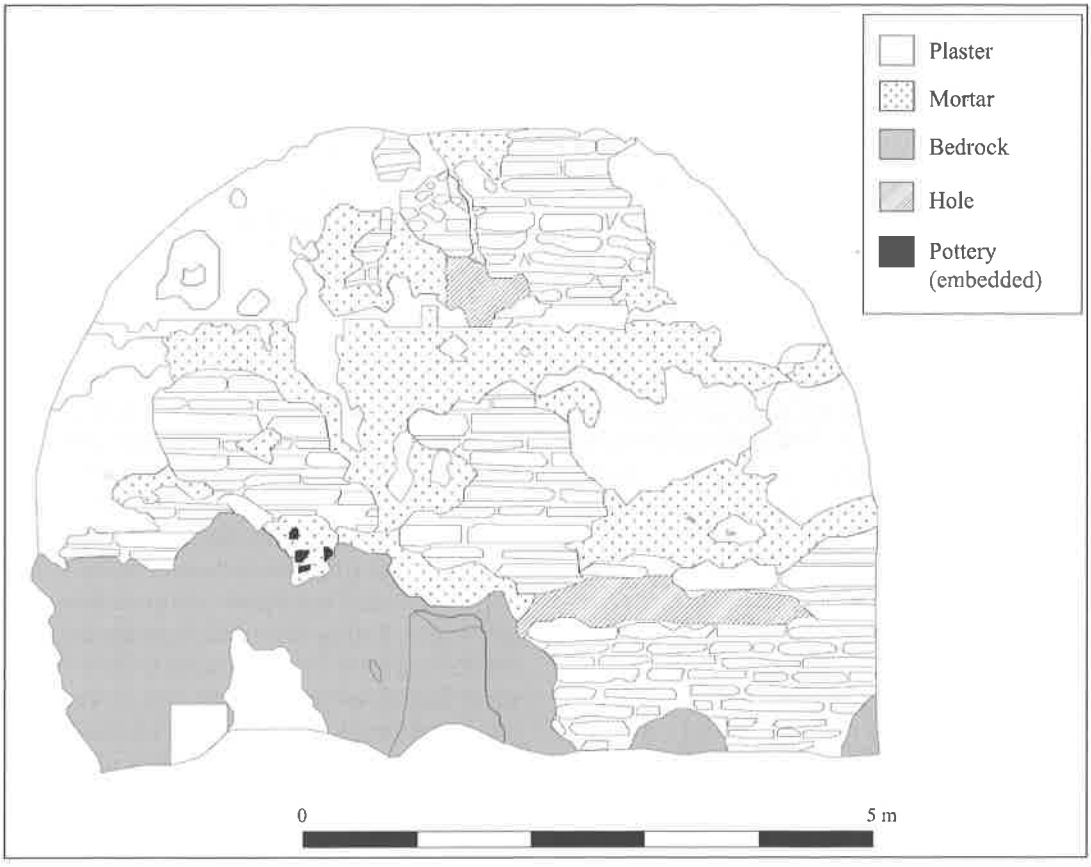

Figure 10.4. Northern wall (south-facing elevation) of Tomb 1

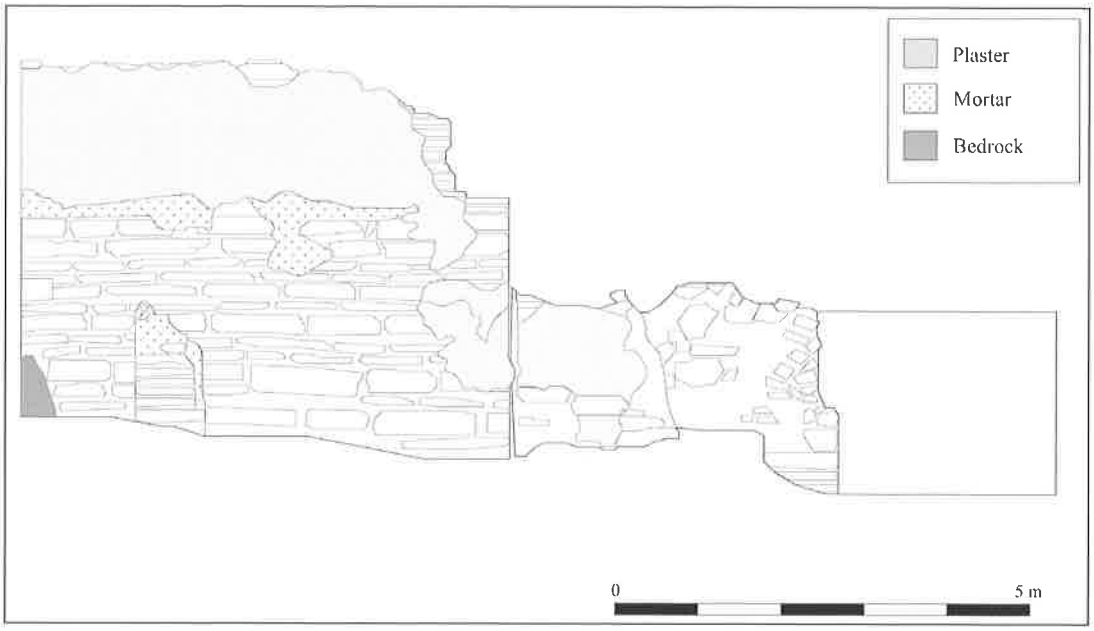

Figure 10.5. Eastern wall (west-facing elevation) of Tomb 1

Figure 10.6. Western wall of Tomb 1, showing Phase III wall paintings and western sepulchre (below)

constructed of regular courses of limestone blocks and bricks, which were plastered and painted. An area on the exterior of the western structure was painted ochre. Originally, each sepulchre was sealed by a thick limestone slab, a corner fragment of which remains *in situ* in the eastern structure, imbedded in the northeastern corner of the northern wall. The fragment was not dislodged when the tomb was robbed of its materials. The profile of the lid fragment shows that a semi-elliptical moulding in the form of a 'pillow' rested above the eastern end, the 'head' of the lid. Both sepulchres were shaped as couches, with their upper surfaces sloping up to where the head-end abutted the wall of the tomb.

A rectangular base (0.94 × 0.58 m), composed of tiles bonded by a dark yellow mortar, was found abutting the tomb's eastern wall and the eastern sepulchre (Fig. 10.8). Judging from other Roman tombs, this structure may have originally served as a base for a funerary shrine that housed a cremation burial.[32]

In a second construction phase, the building was

Figure 10.7. Northern wall of Tomb 1

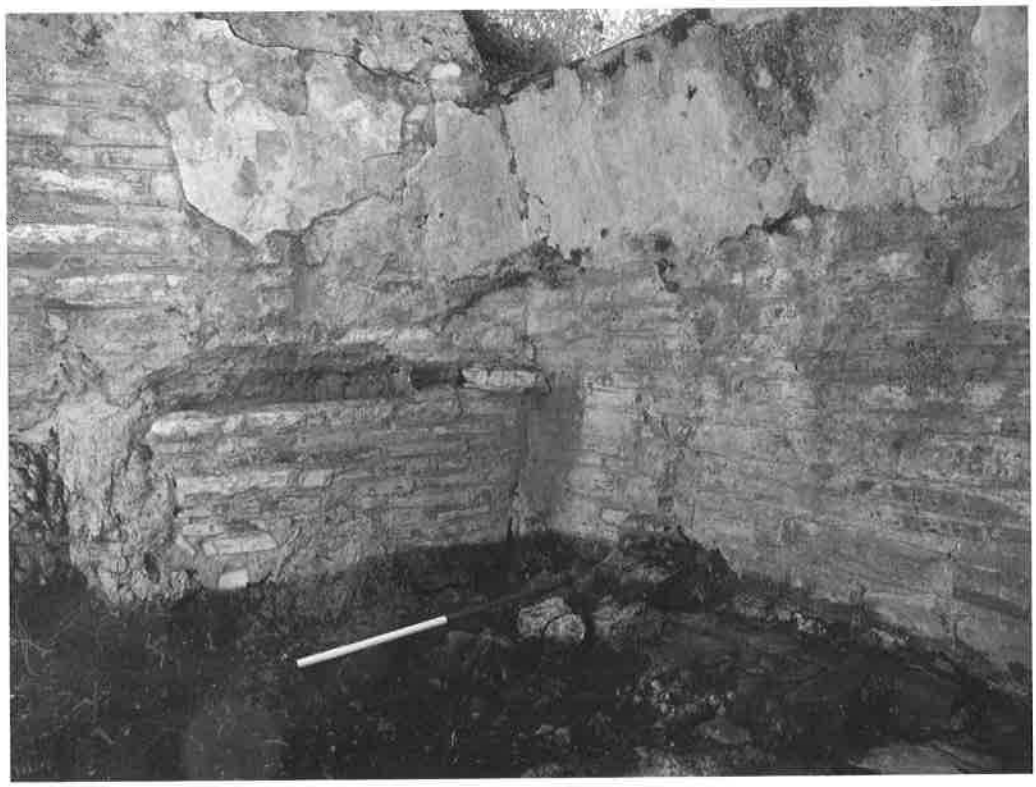

Figure 10.8. Northern and eastern walls of Tomb 1, showing phase 1 wall paintings, eastern sepulchre and brick base (lower right)

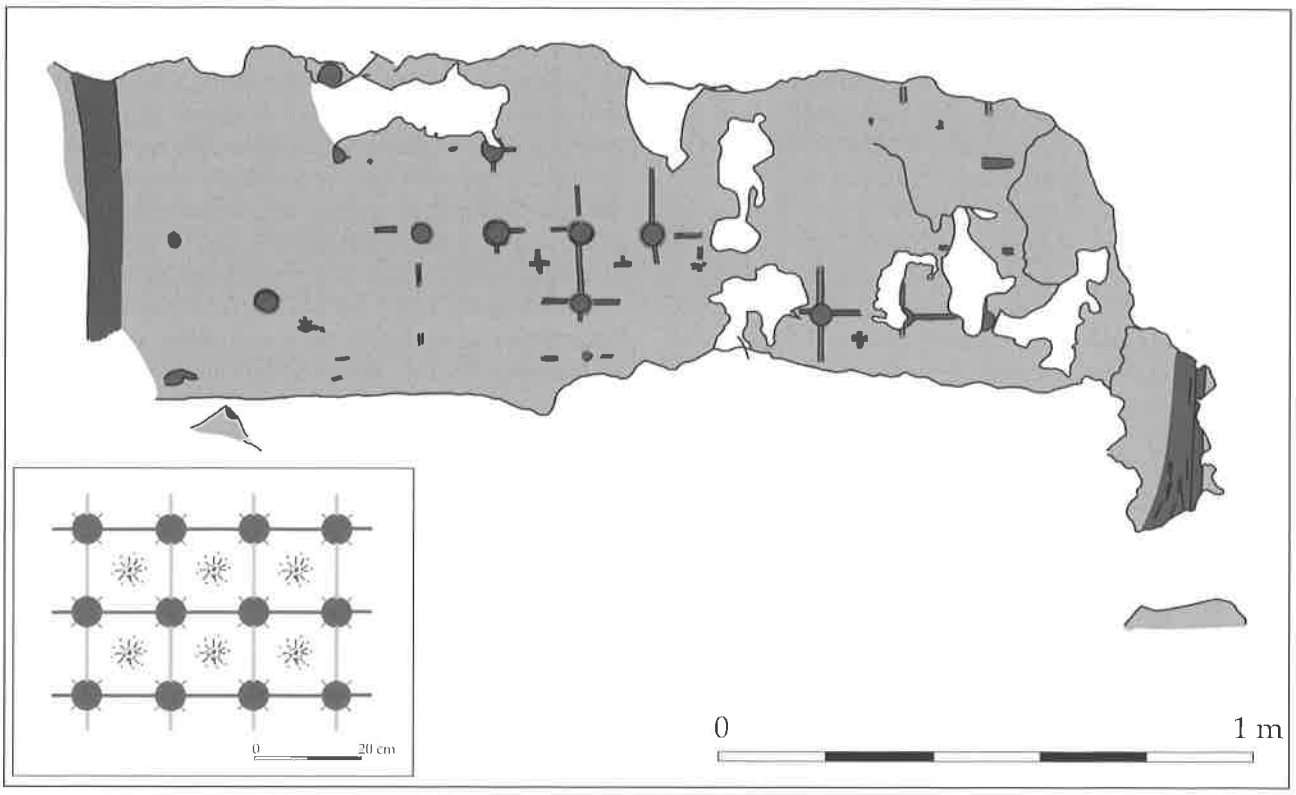

Figure 10.9. Phase I paintings on eastern wall of Tomb 1, with a reconstruction of the decorative scheme

extended (2.52 m) on its southern side, towards the Vivari Channel, more than doubling its size – to 5.42 m (cf. Fig. 10.2). The walls of the new structure were constructed of roughly drafted blocks of local limestone, without any regular coursing or the use of bricks as in the first phase. The mortar, which covered the interior walls in this second phase, is noticeably different from the whiter and harder mortar used in the building's first phase. The many fallen roof-tiles (curved *imbrices*) in and around the building suggest that it was covered by a hipped roof in its second phase. A hole, which punctures the painted plaster of the tomb's first phase, is located centrally near the top of the interior northern wall of the building, demonstrating that a timber beam supported the roof.

A comparable tomb exists outside the lion gate, located immediately east of the large tomb excavated by Ugolini (Fig. 10.1 (I)). It is of the same masonry construction in *opus mixtum* as the first phase of Tomb 1. The remains preserve a wall, over 4 m long, with painted plaster *in situ* and the bottom of the tomb's vaulting. The existence of this tomb suggests that the cemeteries outside the Lion Gate and west of the city were both in use in the late 2nd or early 3rd century AD.

Painted decoration

Three successive phases of wall-plaster carrying painted decoration can be identified on the interior walls of the building (Fig. 10.9 and Plates 10.1–4). The first two of these belong to the original structure, while the third was added subsequent to the enlargement of the building.

The first phase of wall-plaster and painted decoration is readily identifiable on the northern and eastern walls. It may also survive on the western wall under the plaster of the subsequent two phases. The surfaces of the walls were first levelled with an *aricchio* layer of plaster laid onto the masonry and trowelled to a smooth finish. This was covered by an *intonaco* to carry the paint-surface.

The decorative scheme of this initial phase is best preserved on the eastern wall, although the surface is extremely worn and faded, and the design is preserved only in disjointed and often indistinct fragments (Fig. 10.9). The pattern consisted of a rectangular grid in red and sometimes yellow, describing squares with sides of roughly 0.15 m (the observable variation in the length of these sides is 0.14–0.16 m). The intersections of the grid were marked by red discs, apparently contoured in green or girt by green accents. A motif in red was set at the centre of each square, a design that looks like some kind of exploded star or stylized flower petal. The northern wall contains a relatively well-preserved example of this 'flower-petal' motif in red. The overall design of the pattern does not survive in a condition to make a full reconstruction possible.

In the lunette above the cornice, on the rear wall, a field is framed by a deep red border (45–50 mm wide).

Below the cornice, between the two sepulchres, where the natural rock-face had been cut back to shape the space, the surface was plastered and painted red down to the floor. This painted plaster surface runs uninterrupted onto the outer face of the western sepulchre. The southern end of the eastern wall is covered with a thick plaster (*c.* 25 mm), painted ochre, which probably also belonged to phase I.

A second phase of decoration, painted onto a skim of plaster laid thinly over the original *intonaco* (phase I), is preserved only in disjointed fragments. It has not been possible to reconstruct its original extent and design. This layer survives most extensively in the lunette above the cornice on the rear wall, where a field is framed by a second deep red border (85–90 mm wide over the cornice; *c.* 60–70 mm wide along the curve of the vault). The ground within this frame is a pinkish cream in the far right half of the lunette. On the left-hand side of the rear wall, both above and below the cornice, traces of green accents on a creamy-ochre ground, seemingly the stems of plants and leaves, are preserved from this phase. Higher on this rear wall is an area of pinkish colour with green above it and to the right a passage of configurations in red, which may represent drapery. It would appear that the overall composition contained elements of green plants both below and above the cornice, and possibly a figural image in the lunette.

The most coherent surviving painted surfaces belong to the third phase. The best preserved remains are on the western wall and on the adjacent western end of the northern wall (Plate 10.1). The scheme is composed of a sequence of panels, some of which carry figural imagery. These are set in narrow red frames (20 mm wide), bordered by exiguous white contouring lines. The surviving panels are of various sizes, with the framing bands dividing the walls in irregular sequence, one of which accommodates the irregular outline of the old western sepulchre.

Two fragmentary figural panels are preserved on the western wall. The panel on the left extends lower than its neighbouring panel and is preserved to a height of 0.81 m (originally *c.* 1 m) and a width of 0.5 m (Plates 10.2 and 10.3). The left panel, of which perhaps half is preserved, displays the lower three-quarters of two standing male figures. In both cases the shoulders and heads are lost. The left-hand figure, which is missing its left side, is posed frontally, with the right foot pointing down. The lower garment seems to consist of a long tunic extending down to the ankles, light blue-grey in colour, with an orange-red band, a *clavus*, running diagonally down through it from the left shoulder to the right ankle. An upper garment forms a long angular sleeve over the right arm. A peculiar characteristic of this figure is the way the front and rear lower hems of the tunic appear to be distinguished and separated, with a sequence of little white brush-strokes articulating the intervening deep red inner surface of the material, a formula quite commonly employed by painters in Italy in the later 8th and 9th centuries. The artist has drawn the ankle and foot as if emerging from behind the rear hem rather than from the interior of the tunic between the two hems.

The right-hand figure of the same panel is shown in three-quarter stance, turning in towards his companion. He also wears a long lower garment, a tunic of sorts, brownish-red in colour, which reaches the lower calf, ending somewhat strangely in a rolled-up hem. The cloth falls in prominent V-folds beneath the abdomen, between the legs. Over this he wears a deeper brownish-red upper garment, which falls neatly down across the lower body in a curving contour and forms a long triangular sleeve over the shoulder and arm. Little curving white lines model the lower legs and feet of this figure. A telling characteristic of the image is the way in which the feet overlap the frame, projecting the two figures into the visual space of the viewer. The background is red below and green above, with the divide at mid-thigh level. The missing left side of the composition may well have included a third figure, pendant to the one on the right, turning in to address the frontal figure in the centre.

The right panel (0.82 m high × 0.77 m wide) on the western wall is very different. The lower horizontal red border is defined by two horizontal string lines, which were snapped into the plaster while it was still damp. The paintings of this third phase clearly were executed by an artist who prepared and drafted his surfaces with professional expertise. The panel shows a figure with naked upper body, who wears a loin-cloth about the waist (Plate 10.3). The figure, cut off horizontally at the top of the thighs, as if standing in water or behind a parapet, is posed more or less frontally, with head, shoulders, and arms gently inclined to the left. Much of the top of the image, including the upper part of the head has been destroyed. The body is coloured a tanned yellow ochre with the contours, ribs, and muscles defined in dark red. The loincloth, which is gathered up at the front in a large knot, is a creamy white, with the folds also described in red. The left arm is half-bent at the elbow, with the hand just below the knot of the loincloth. Arm and hand, like the body, are painted in a rich ochre with little curving white highlights on the palm of the hand. The left arm, which is almost indiscernible now, is gently inflected, with the hand extended towards the lower-left corner of the framed space; the hand appears to be open with the palm displayed.

There is a broken area of dark red in the area of the left shoulder. A red rod or staff of some kind emerges from behind the right shoulder, sloping up to the right of the head. There may be a corresponding feature on the left. To the right of the head, above the staff, is a substantial horizontal feature, like a beam, in light ochre, contoured in a richer mix of the same colour. The background is grey-blue below and deep green above, with the divide at waist-level, indicating possibly water, possibly a stone feature below and an abstracted verdant landscape above. A salient feature of this figure is a deep red halo (0.23 m diam.), rimmed in white, framing the head. This identifies the figure unambiguously as Christ or a Christian saint.

This image recalls the common late Byzantine compositional type of the Akra Tapeinosis, the Utmost Humiliation, the western *imago pietatis,* Christ as Man of

Sorrows, naked except for a cloth about his loins, standing in his tomb, a box-like sarcophagus, the cross rising up behind his head, flanked by the spear and hyssop with which he was tormented – all features which are possibly represented on this panel. This is a pictorial subject that seems to have been first deployed by artists in the Byzantine cultural sphere in the 11th century.[33] At Butrint there is a painting of this type of indeterminate date (possibly 15th century), on a wall below the castle, just inside the West Gate of the medieval wall-circuit.[34] The composition is a common one in churches of the region, the closest being a version of possible 17th/18th-century date in the monastic church at Mesopotam.[35] However, in these compositions, Christ is typically represented with his upper arms hanging down vertically while his forearms turn in and arms cross at the wrists before his abdomen, whereas in the image in the mausoleum the man extends his right arm with open palm. This could be a variant of a western type, in which Christ displays his palms to show his wounds; however, in most versions of this iconography, both hands are presented in symmetrical fashion, rather than just one, as is the case here.[36] On balance of probability, it is likely that this barely legible image does represents Christ in his tomb as Man of Sorrows – an iconography that would be eminently suited to a funerary context; however, the possibility remains that another subject is represented here, either Christ or a saint in another action.

On the northern wall, in this third phase, red frames divide the surface up into a series of small fields, coloured a murky blackish-green (Plate 10.4). A substantial passage of red drapery is preserved, left of centre, running up over the line of the old cornice into the lunette above, within a large framed area again contoured in red. The ground behind this drapery, presumably a clothed figure, was divided into deep green below and grey-blue above.

It is clear that the interior of the entire building in its final enlarged state was replastered and repainted. The sequence of plastering in this phase was executed in horizontal *pontata*, as follows: first the western, northern, and eastern walls above the level of the cornice; then the lower walls on all three sides. On the northern wall, the lower *pontata* was carried right down to floor-level, while on the western wall, it terminated short of the bottom and a third skim of roughly surfaced plaster was trowelled up from the floor to lap over the lower edge of the median *pontata* with its figural panels. Although the masonry of the vault does not survive, a fallen fragment of painted plaster with a concave formation shows that the upper vaulted surfaces of the interior were painted in the same way as the vertical walls. The surviving piece shows a dark red border with an inner 3 mm band of black framing what seems to have been a blue field.

Chronology

The date of the tomb's construction and of the first phase of painted decoration can be determined by the presence of ceramic sherds embedded in the mortar of the tomb's masonry in the northern wall (cf. Fig. 10.4). Paul Reynolds identified rim and body sherds from one or more cooking pots with a characteristic grooved rim, of local manufacture dating to the late 2nd or early 3rd century AD (Fig. 10.10). This common type of domestic pottery, found in the excavated deposits at Diaporit and exported to Corfu in antiquity, suggests that the tomb and its first phase of wall painting can be dated to the same period. Fragments of a Roman ceramic lamp were also recovered from this same context.

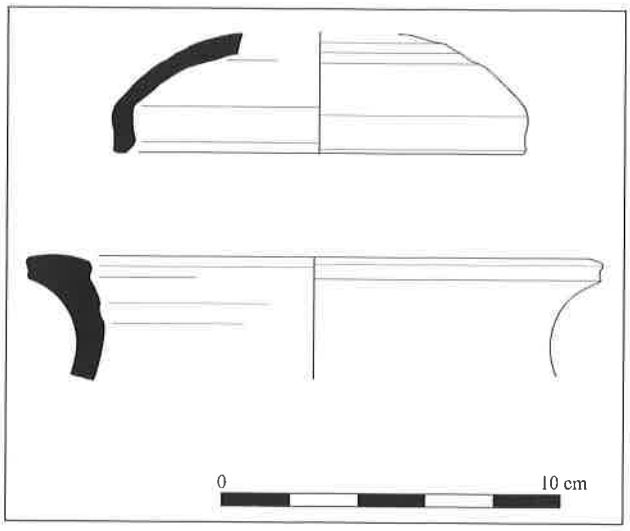

Figure 10.10. Cooking pot lid (top) and rim (bottom) from Tomb 1

The remains of the second phase of painting are too vestigial to afford any secure index for dating; however, the plaster of this phase, associated with the original building, predates the building's extension and restructuring.

The poor condition of the third phase painted decoration and the lack of relevant comparative material in the region makes an assessment of the formal affiliations of style and iconography and its date a perilous undertaking. Some features could be taken to indicate a date in the early Middle Ages, while others point to an early modern context.

A date in the early Middle Ages might be supported by: 1) the way the walls are partitioned off into panels, framed by narrow red bands. These recall late Roman variants of the old Pompeian Third Style. 2) The design and clothes of the two standing figures. Long tunics enveloping the torso and legs with some kind of wrap or cape around the shoulders and upper body are more consistent with a late Roman or early medieval context than with a date after the millennium. They show no obvious marks of the conventions of Byzantine figural design and embellishment, which were widely adopted in the Balkans after the 10th century. The *clavus* running down the full length of the tunic, as it does on one of the two surviving figures in one of the panels on the west wall, is also predominantly a motif of Roman and post-Roman Mediterranean culture of the first millennium, rarely met with in later periods. Another feature pointing in the same direction is the

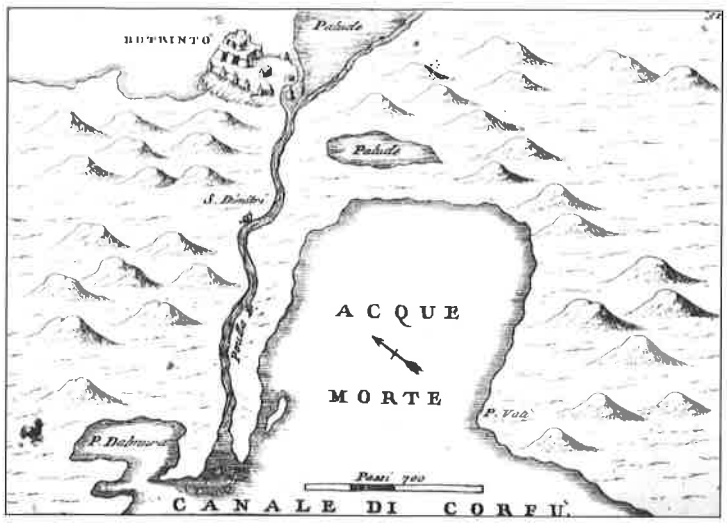

Figure 10.11. Map of Butrint by Vincenzo Coronelli, 1688 (Instituti i Arkeologjisë)

rendition of the lower edge of the long clavate tunic worn by this figure, where the front and back hems are clearly distinguished, one above the other, creating a long drawn-out point ellipse. This is one of the characteristic features of the practice of artists working for Lombard and later for Frankish patrons in Italy in the late 8th and 9th centuries. Good examples are the angel addressing Zachariah, of the 750s, in S. Sofia in Benevento, and the figures of SS. Peter and Paul in a compendium of Canon Law of the first half of the 9th century from Pavia.[37] 3) The feet of the two standing figures overlap the frame of the panel. This is a convention commonly employed in Late Antiquity and the early medieval period, but less often in later centuries.

On the other hand, several features suggest a much later date, at some point between the 15th and 18th centuries. The principal factor that might indicate a later date is the composition of the naked torso of the haloed figure cut off at the waist, as if emerging from water or from behind a parapet. This shows an undeniable likeness to late Byzantine and late medieval Italian images of the Man of Sorrows, of Christ as Akra Tapeinosis, emerging from his tomb, beneath the Cross and flanked by other instruments of his Passion. The likeness in style and composition, particularly in respect to the figure's abdomen and loincloth, between this image and the painting at the monastic church at Mesopotam, dating to the 17th/18th-century, suggests a date in this later period. While a date for the painted scheme in the early Middle Ages cannot be discounted, it is perhaps more likely that the final phase of the building and its painted decoration date to a much later time, between the 15th and 17th centuries.

In this context, the evidence of three Venetian cadastral maps, which identify the building, should be noted. Two 18th-century maps label the building as *S. Dimitri* and as a *chiesa dirocata*, respectively.[38] The former identifies the building as a church of Saint Demetrius (cf. Fig. 16.17). The label on the second map suggests that the church was in ruins by the early 18th century (cf. Fig. 15.2). The third map, dated to 1688 and made by Vincenzo Coronelli, also contains the label "S. Dimitri" and features a tiny sketch of the tomb facing the Vivari Channel (Fig. 10.11).[39] It is clear that by the early modern period the tomb had become a chapel, dedicated to Saint Demetrius, and that it had been abandoned by the early 18th century.

Human skeletal remains

Removal of the topsoil inside the tomb revealed human skeletal remains scattered both inside and adjacent to the western sepulchre. The distribution and fragmentary condition of the bones indicate that the skeletons had been disturbed, probably during the robbing of the tomb. No grave goods or other ancient funerary artefacts were discovered.

The human skeletal remains were analyzed by Todd Fenton and Jared Beatrice.[40] The skeletal remains belong to a minimum of four individuals: three adult males and one adolescent of indeterminate sex, to judge from the robusticity of four left proximal femur fragments, among other indicators. One adult male was aged between 30–45 at the time of death, on the evidence of an auricular surface fragment, which exhibited uniform granularity and no obvious billowing or striae.[41] A second older adult male was identified from a mandible fragment with marked alveolar resorption. The age of the third adult male was indeterminate. The adolescent was identified as *c.* 12 years of age, from a right maxillary first molar with open root apices. The skeletal remains exhibit minimal evidence of pathological conditions. Some of the cranial fragments (parietal bones) show an expansion of the diploë. The odontoid process of one complete second cervical vertebra demonstrates arthritic lipping and eburnation. Mild arthritis is also present in the form of pinpoint surface porosity on the right superior articular process of an upper thoracic vertebra. Mitochondrial DNA analysis performed at

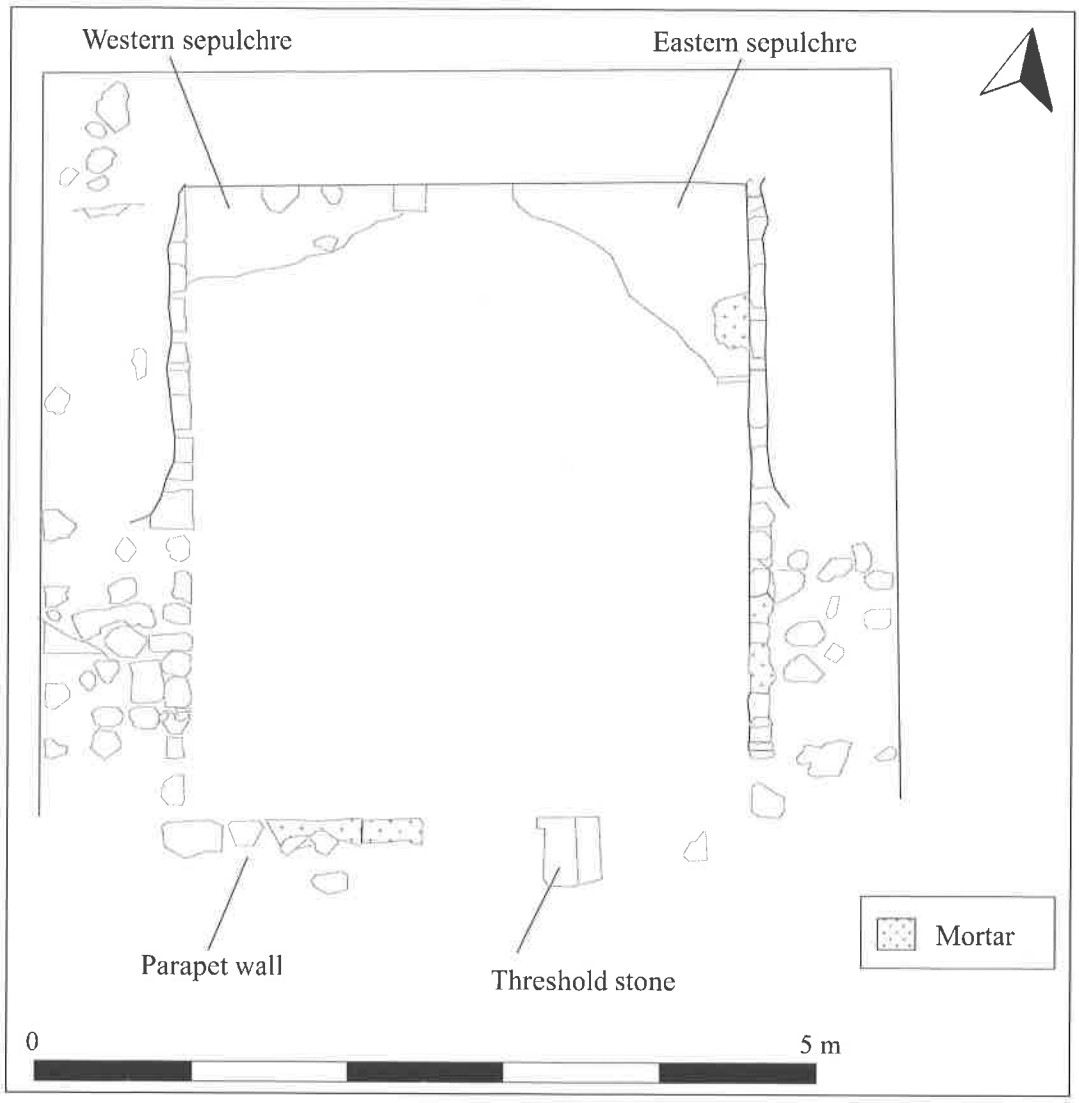

Figure 10.12. Plan of Tomb 4 (Area 3)

Michigan State University Forensic Biology Laboratory determined that the three adult males were maternally related. The DNA results represent strong evidence that the male individuals belong to a single family interred when the building functioned as a tomb during the mid Roman period.

Tomb 2 (Area 2)

Tomb 2 is a rectangular structure (3.26 × 1.5 m) located *c.* 90 m northwest of Tomb 1. Remains of the four walls of the building survive, up to five courses high (0.7 m) at its eastern end. The masonry consists of two types of limestone blocks (white and grey) bonded by gritty yellow mortar. The white limestone blocks are well faced, while the grey blocks are roughly worked. The building rests on truncated bedrock, parts of which are integrated into the structure on the western side. The grey blocks probably derive from quarrying of the local bedrock during the tomb's construction. The eastern wall is almost twice as thick (0.46 m) as the southern wall (0.25 m), which faces the Vivari Channel. The northern wall is the best preserved and features a trowelled score mark produced during the tomb's construction.

Tomb 3 (Area 2)

About 5 meters southeast of Tomb 2, a single course of white limestone blocks represents the remains of a wall, preserved to a length of 3.10 m, made of well-faced white limestone blocks. This appears to belong to the southern side of a building, probably a sepulchral structure. Most of the building is buried in the hillside.

Tomb 4 (Area 3)

A large tomb (6 × 5 m) was discovered *c.* 74 m northwest of Tomb 2 (Figs 10.12–13). Four walls of the building

Figure 10.13. Tomb 4 (Area 3)

survive, up to 1.2 m high along the northern wall, which is the tomb's best-preserved wall. The walls are well faced and composed of irregularly shaped greyish-pink limestone blocks. The inner core of the walls is composed of the same stones bonded by strong grey mortar. No bricks or tiles were used as masonry in the side-walls of the tomb. However, two internal walls, made of brick and stone masonry, are keyed into the northern and eastern walls of the tomb. These internal walls defined sepulchres for interment. The interior of the tomb, including its inner sepulchres, is thickly plastered and painted in a seemingly uniform reddish-orange paint. No distinct images or designs are evident on the painted surfaces. No evidence for the roofing system of the tomb was found, but it is likely that the building was vaulted. The thickness of the eastern and western walls of the tomb appears to relate to their weight-bearing function. The ratio between wall thickness (0.9 m) and length (6 m) equals 0.15, which is the precise ratio of Tomb 7 (wall thickness of 1.2 m and length of 8 m). Both tombs appear to have employed the same proportion of wall thickness to vaulting length to support the weight of the roof. The tomb's façade, facing the Vivari Channel, consisted of a low wall (0.45 m thick), which appears to have functioned as a parapet. Part of the threshold stone of the tomb was found *in situ*.

Tomb 5 (Area 3)

A single wall of roughly worked white limestone blocks was found *c*. 8 m west of Tomb 4. The wall (1.30 × 0.45 m) is earth-bonded and appears to represent the southern side of a simple rectangular tomb.

Tomb 6 (Area 4)

A small rectangular tomb (1.6 × 2.1 m) in *opus incertum* was found *c*. 42 m west of tomb 4. The bases of all four walls are well preserved, up to 0.5 m on the northern side. The interior of the tomb was empty, and it appears to have been robbed.

Tomb 7 (Area 5)

The largest tomb (8 × 6.1 m) discovered in the survey is located *c*. 104 m west of Tomb 4, facing the Vivari Channel (Figs 10.14–16). Most of the building is buried into the hillside; however, substantial portions remain visible. The tomb has thick walls (1.2 m wide), which originally supported a vaulted roof. The western wall, preserved to a height of 2.8 m, shows that the tomb was built in *opus vittatum*, in which a single course of bricks was laid after every three or four regular courses of white limestone blocks. The interior of the walls consists of a hard mortar-bonded rubble core. At 1.8 m above the base of the tomb, the stone coursing projects internally 0.7 cm from the wall. This served as a weight-bearing support for the rafters of a second floor. Above this stone projection, the top of the western wall preserves a portion of the vaulting, which begins with regular courses of brick at 2.2 m from the base of the tomb. Large fragments of the rubble core of the vaulted roof were found inside the building (Fig. 10.15). The vaulting served as the ceiling of a second storey, which was supported by the wooden rafters. Two symmetrical square niches are preserved on the western and eastern walls of the tomb, near the entrance, located 1.07 m from the floor of the tomb; the western and eastern

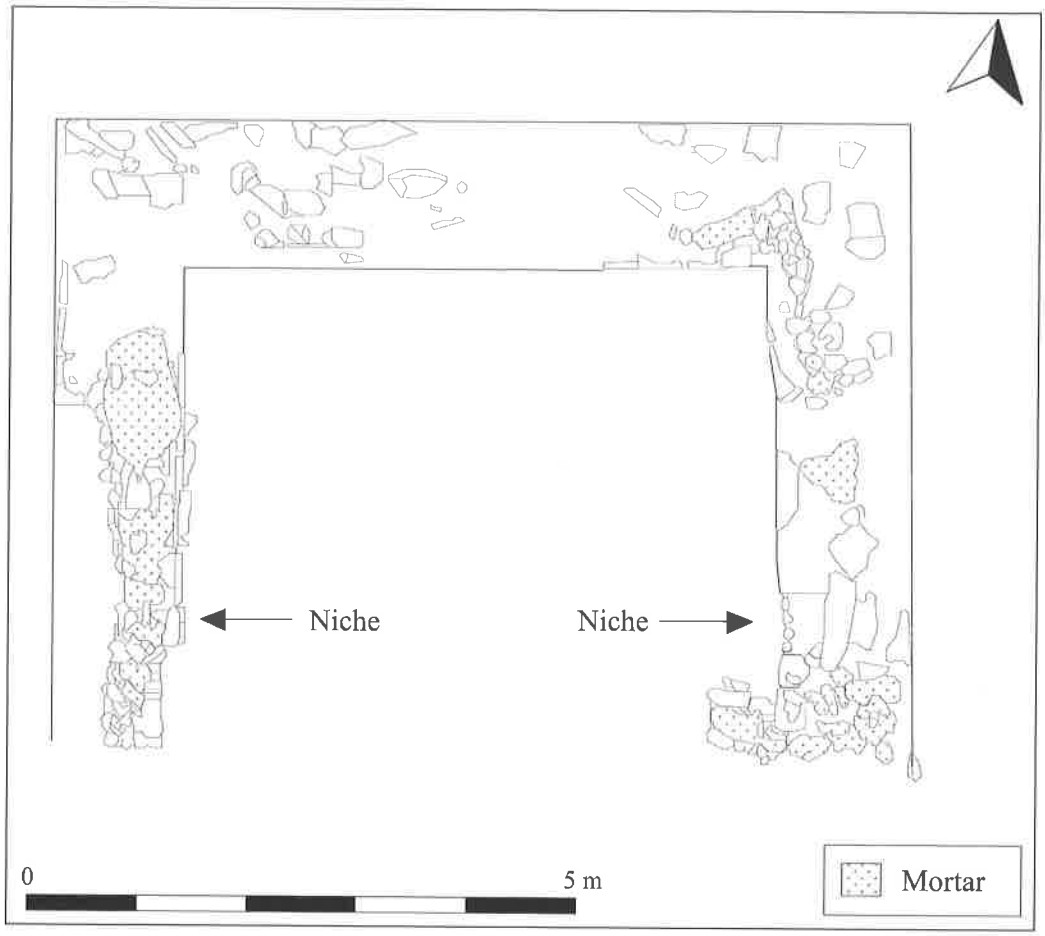

Figure 10.14. Plan of Tomb 7 (Area 5)

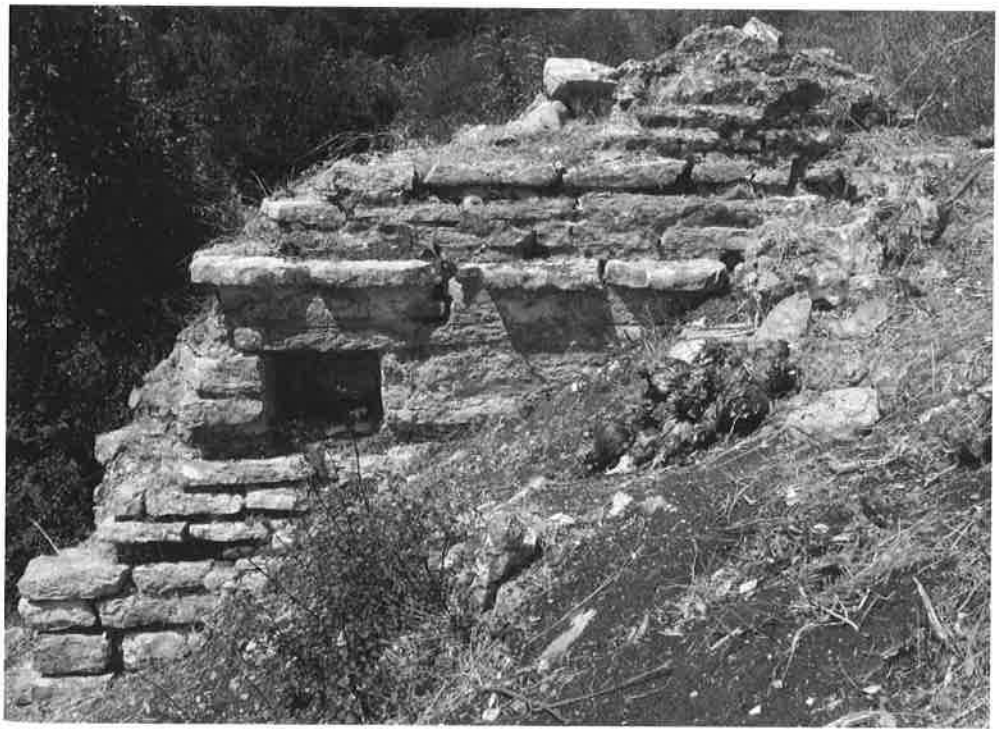

Figure 10.15. Western wall of Tomb 7 (Area 5)

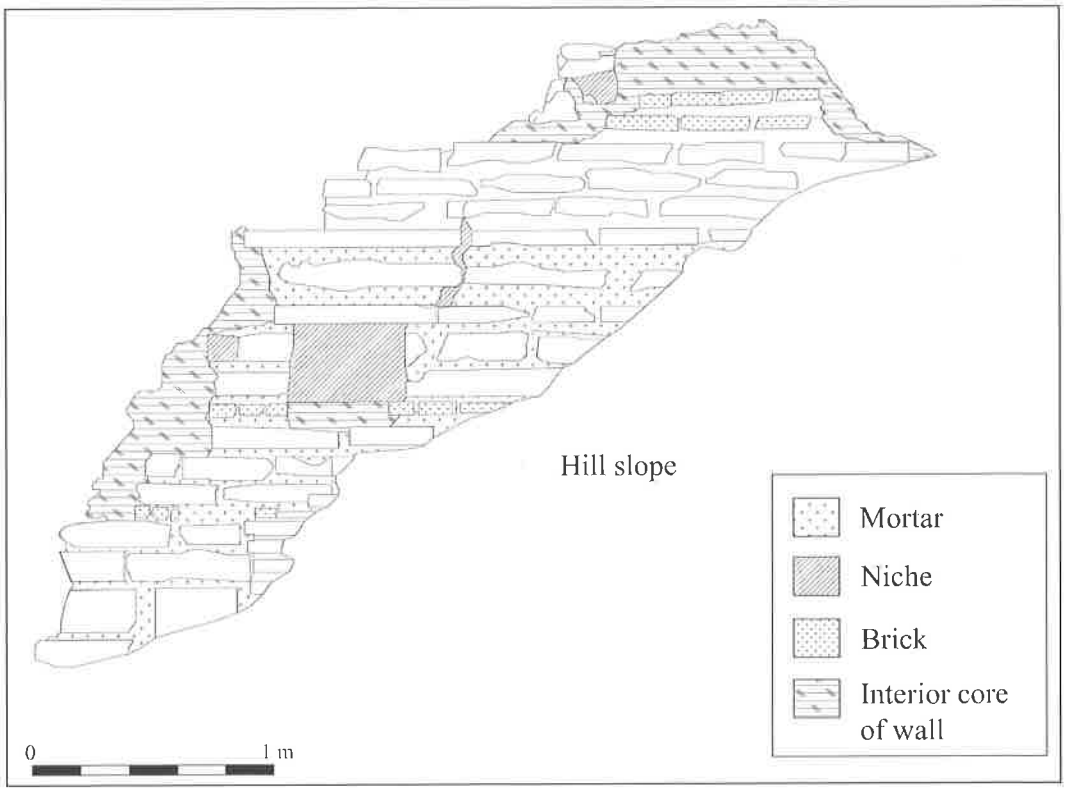

Figure 10.16. East-facing elevation of Tomb 7 (Area 5)

niches measure 0.43 × 0.32 × 0.50 m and 0.46 × 0.40 × 0.46 m (width; height; depth), respectively (Fig. 10.16). The niches possibly served as repositories for cremation urns. They are comparable in size and form to the niches found in the two-storey cremation tomb excavated by Ugolini.[42] The interiors of the niches were plastered and painted in a pinkish-orange colour. The finished state of the southern ends of the western and eastern walls suggests that the tomb did not have a substantial front (southern) wall, which perhaps consisted of a low parapet.

Tombs 8–21 (Area 6)

Area 6 is located *c.* 140 m southwest of Tomb 7 and represents the western end of the survey. Situated near the base of the hill, the area consists of at least five ancient terraces on which 16 tombs were identified (Fig. 10.17). Most of the tombs were built against scarped and reworked bedrock. This pattern is clearly evident on the plan, which shows a series of tombs (14–20) built against the rock. There is considerable variation in the size and grandeur of the tombs in this area. Many are small and simple burials, while others form proper buildings.

Tombs 8–13 form a tight cluster of masonry tombs, built on four distinct terraces. The plan of the remains shows a regular pattern of development, which began with the construction of two robust north–south walls (0.54 m thick). The two walls, which stand 2.2 m apart, are made of grey and white limestone blocks bonded by mortar. The surviving lengths of the eastern and western walls are 3.7 m and 5 m, respectively. Tombs were constructed abutting these north–south walls, which served as the basis for the allotment of plots. Tomb 8 is contemporary with the original construction of its north–south wall, as is evident from the southern wall (0.34 m thick) of the tomb being keyed into it. Tomb 9, however, is a later build, with its northern and eastern walls abutting the same north–south wall. A single course of mortar-bonded stones (0.20 m thick) was built between the two north–south walls and appears to have served as the southern wall of Tomb 10, which was on the same terrace as Tomb 9. A similar wall (0.20 m thick) was built immediately below on a lower terrace and appears to have served as the northern wall of Tomb 11. Sharing the same north–south wall, Tomb 12 was constructed on the same terrace as Tomb 11 and was apparently the largest of the cluster with walls 0.46 m thick. Tomb 13 was situated on the next terrace below and had a thin southern wall (0.17 m thick). On the basis of their masonry construction, Tombs 8–13 are likely to date between the 1st and 3rd centuries AD.

Tombs 14–20 are a series of smaller and simpler structures built against worked bedrock. None of the walls in this series contain mortar bonding. Generally, these tombs are rectangular in shape and appear to be filled with rubble. The walls of Tomb 14 consist of scarped bedrock, except the southern wall, which is constructed

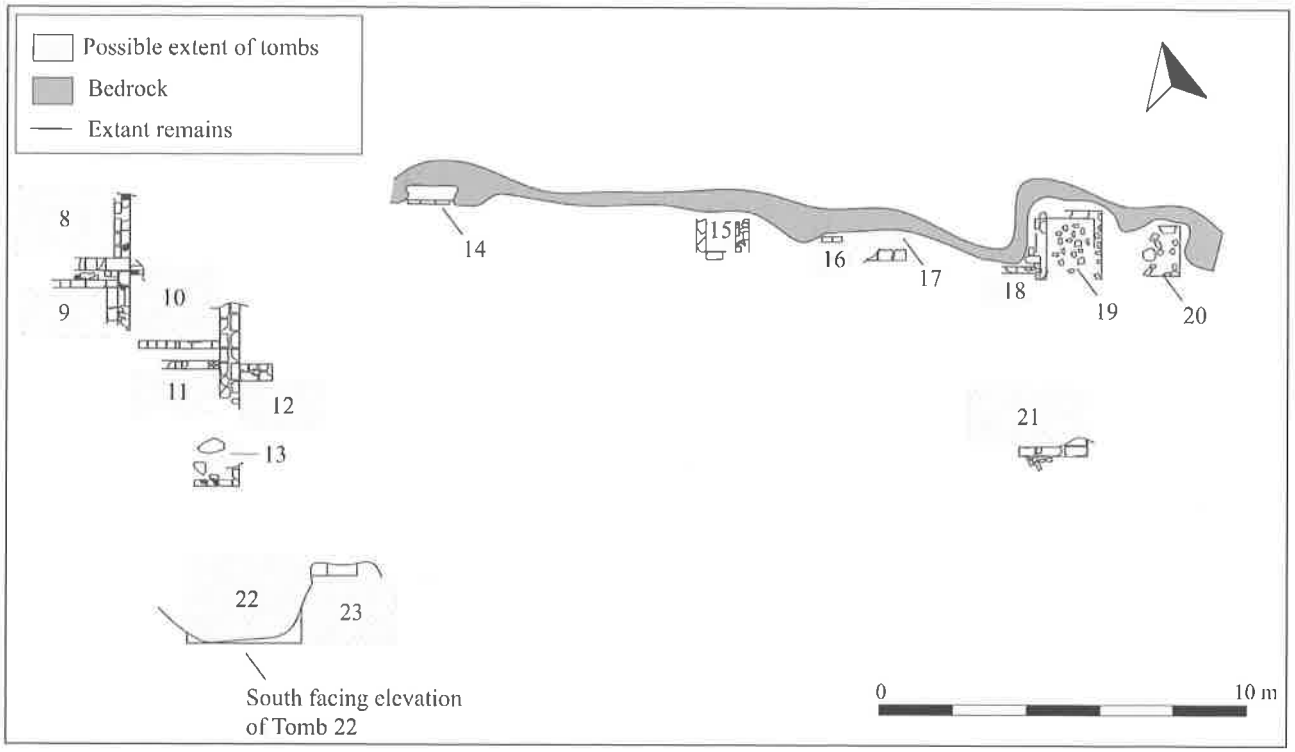

Figure 10.17. Plan of tombs in Area 6

with a short segment (1.07 m long) of well-faced white limestone blocks. Tomb 15 is a rectangular structure (0.9 × 0.8 m) outlined by walls made of both large and small greyish pink limestone blocks. Short segments of walls suggest the presence of at least three other small tombs (16–18). Tomb 19 occupies a slightly larger area (1.88 × 1.71 m) than Tomb 20 (1.38 × 0.83 m). Tombs 14–20 are likely to be Hellenistic in date, from the 3rd to 1st centuries BC, to judge from their surface features. The rectangular shaped plots, filled with irregular stones without the use of mortar, are characteristic of Hellenistic tombs, such as those recently excavated at the ancient city of Phoenice.[43] The smaller, almost square-shaped tombs (e.g., 14, 15, 17, 20) may represent cremation burials.

Tomb 21 is unusual in its construction. It consists of two courses of large, flat white and greyish pink limestone blocks, which are not bonded with mortar. Most of the structure is buried in the hillside; however, a fair portion (0.47 × 1.87 m) remains visible. Unlike Tombs 14–20, however, the observed masonry very likely represents the foundations of a large funerary structure, similar to those discovered in the necropolis at nearby Phoenice.[44]

Tombs 22, 23 (Area 7)

Tombs 22 and 23 were built at the foot of the hill, on the lowest (fifth) ancient terrace identified in this area. Tomb 22 is of well-coursed limestone masonry built on bedrock (Figs 10.18–19). Erosion of the hillside has buried the entire tomb except for its southern wall, which still stands to a height of 2.5 m. The exposed southern side of the structure is remarkably well preserved, owing to a large tree that grew from its centre and has protected the monument from sunlight and rain. Mortar impressions on the masonry, created by levelling strings during the tomb's construction, are preserved along several courses. Other marks made during trowelling are also visible, one being an unusual triple score-mark.

The monument consists of three distinct parts (Fig. 10.18). The foundation of the tomb is made of five courses of large limestone blocks built directly on bedrock. Two putlog holes, located only 0.4 m above the top of the foundations, and the smooth facing of the masonry courses show that the foundations were built freestanding. Three courses of greyish white limestone blocks in *opus vittatum* served as a base or pedestal (0.4 m high and 3 m wide) above the foundations. The rectangular superstructure, built in the same *opus vittatum* masonry, rested above this base and was recessed from it, 15 cm on its western side and 5 cm on its southern side. The monument may originally have had the form of an altar-tomb or similar enclosed funerary monument, to judge from its solid shape and lack of an accessible interior. The distinct masonry type of the superstructure is the same as the *opus vittatum* of the *scaenae frons* of the Theatre at Butrint, the inhumation tomb on the Vrina Plain and the two-storey building in the forum.[45] From its similarity to the latter two monuments, this tomb may be assigned approximately to the early 2nd century AD.

A large fragment of a fallen wall was found adjacent to

Figure 10.18. Tomb 22 (Area 6)

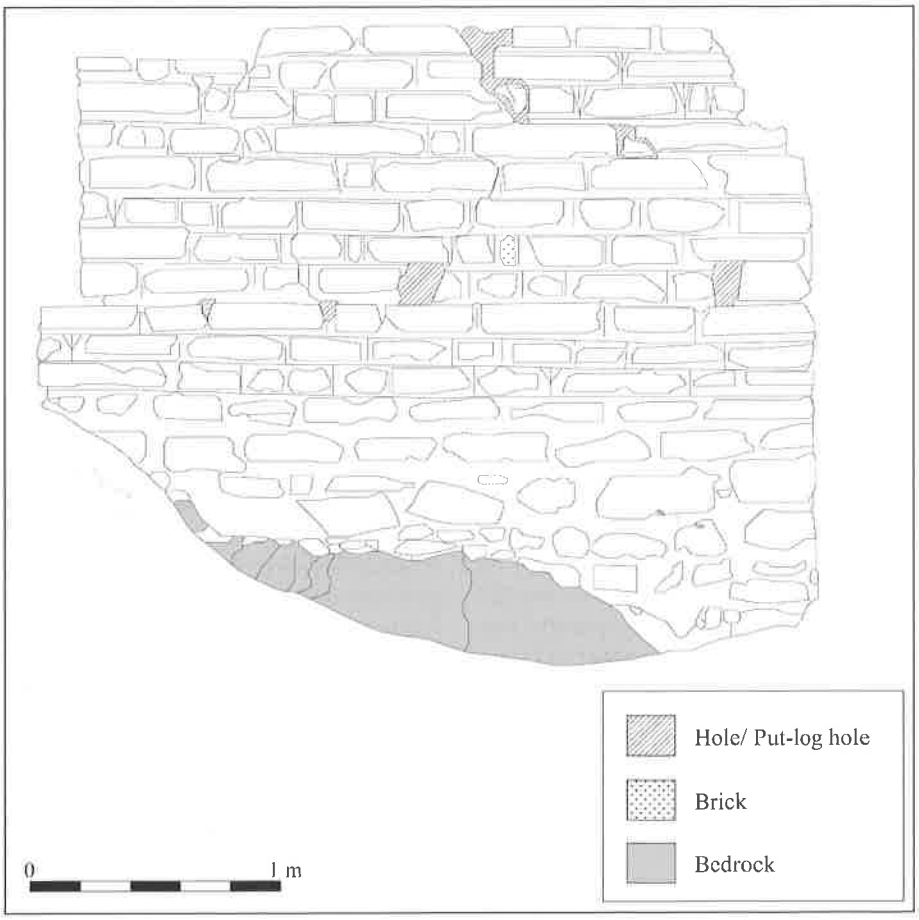

Figure 10.19. South-facing elevation of Tomb 22 (Area 6)

Tomb 22 on its eastern side. This wall, which belonged to another large funerary monument, Tomb 23, was originally built against the eastern side of Tomb 22. A portion of the rear wall of Tomb 23, built similarly in *opus vittatum*, remains standing; however, besides a small portion of the back wall and the fallen southern wall, there are few visible remains of the monument.

Discussion

The importance of the sea to the ancient Roman inhabitants of Butrint is illustrated by the city's cemeteries. Monumental tombs built on the banks of the Vivari Channel confronted the seafarers who approached the city and its harbour.[46] Indeed, the most prominent memorials to the deceased in this location vividly display how the water channel served as the primary route of entry into the city.

It is now clear that a substantial portion of the western cemetery extended further west from the ancient city than was previously thought. In the course of the survey, 23 tombs were discovered facing the Vivari Channel. Owing to the present dense overgrowth, the tombs discovered in the survey should be considered a representative sample, rather than a complete list of the number and types of tombs in this area of the necropolis. The location of the four largest monumental tombs (Tombs 1, 4, 7, 22) shows that the layout of the cemetery was carefully planned (cf. Fig. 10.1). These tombs occupy an ideal location, chosen to maximize their appearance to observers travelling along the channel. They seem to have been deployed symmetrically: Tombs 1 and 22 are located at each edge of the prominent concavity of the hill, while Tombs 4 and 7 are positioned half way up the hill near the centre of the hollow. The two north–south walls, which form the basis of the cluster of Roman tombs (8–13) in Area 6, suggest that funerary plots were pre-planned in this area of the necropolis. Tombs 14–20, which appear to date to the Hellenistic period, and other Hellenistic graves excavated in the western cemetery by Ugolini and Budina, show that a similar sepulchral landscape existed before the Roman colonization of Butrint in 44 BC. It is important to recognize that the area surveyed only constitutes a fraction of the total extent of Butrint's western cemetery. The tombs documented by Ugolini and subsequent archaeologists, as well as the numerous sepulchral ruins that remain unpublished, show that the cemetery as a whole was rich in funerary monuments. This is reflected also in the legendary representation of Butrint in Virgil's *Aeneid*: after disembarking at *Buthrotum*, Aeneas first comes upon Andromache who weeps at the tomb of Hector in front of the city.[47]

Developments over the past 50 years has damaged several tombs in the ancient cemetery. The vaulting of Tomb 1 appears to have been destroyed by a boulder, the fall of which may be linked to the original construction of the Saranda–Butrint road. This road construction was prompted by the official visit of the Russian Premier, Nikita Khrushchev, in May 1959, and involved the cutting of terraces into the limestone slopes of Mount Sotira.[48] The rubble debris and large boulders produced from the roadwork can still be seen today scattered on the northern bank of the Vivari Channel. Another phase of modern destruction in the area is evident from the concrete-lined trenches and pillbox bunkers that were constructed as part of the national defence programme of the Communist regime. Recent road construction in 2010 represents yet another phase of archaeological destruction of the funerary monuments. The new and widened Saranda-Butrint road has been constructed without proper regard for the underlying archaeology within the Butrint National Park.[49] Tomb 4 is now severely damaged and lies buried under a heap of boulders from these roadworks. Such is the current fate of this important historical landscape.

References

Belting, H. (1968) *Studien zur beneventanischen Malerei*. Wiesbaden, Franz Steiner Verlag GMBH.

Belting, H. (1981) *Das Bild und sein Publikum im Mittelalter. Form und Funktion früher Bildtafeln der Passion*. Berlin, Gebr. Mann Verlag.

Bescoby, D. J. (2007) Geoarchaeological investigation at Roman Butrint. In I. L. Hansen and R. Hodges (eds), *Roman Butrint: An Assessment*: 95–118. Oxford, Oxbow.

Bitelli, G., Girelli, V. A. and Vittuari, L. (2005) Il rilievo del monastero di Mesopotam con tecniche geomatiche integrate. In S. De Maria and Sh. Gjongecaj (eds), *Phoinike III: Rapporto preliminare sulle campagne di scavi e ricerche 2002–2003*: 211–18. Bologna, Ante Quem.

Bowden, W. (2003) *Epirus Vetus: The Archaeology of a Late Antique Province*. London, Duckworth.

Bowden, W. and Martin, S. (2004) Trial excavations within the city. In R. Hodges, W. Bowden, and K. Lako (eds), *Byzantine Butrint: Excavations and Surveys 1994–99*: 219–23. Oxford, Oxbow.

Bowden, W. and Mitchell, J. (2004) The Christian topography of Butrint. In R. Hodges, W. Bowden and K. Lako (eds), *Byzantine Butrint: Excavations and Surveys 1994–1999*: 104–25. Oxford, Oxbow.

Budina, Dh. (1959) Nekropoli i Butrintit. *Buletin i Universitetit Shtetëror të Tirana* 1959.2: 246–55.

Budina, Dh. (1971) Harta arkeologjike e bregdetit jon dhe e pellgut të Delvinës. *Iliria* 1: 275–342.

Budina, Dh. (1988) Butrinti pararomak. In N. Ceka (ed.), *Butroti: Përmbledhje Studimesh*: 6–107. Tirana, Akademia e Shkencave e RPSSH Qendra e Kërkimeve Arkeologjike.

Cormack, R. and Vassilaki, M. (2008) (eds) *Byzantium 330–1453*. London, Royal Academy of Arts.

Crivello, F. (2005) *Le "omelie sui vangeli" di Gregorio Magno a Vercelli. Le miniature del ms. CXLVIII/8 della Biblioteca Capitolare*. Florence, Sismel, Edizioni del Galluzzo.

Crowson, A. and Gilkes, O. J. (2007) The archaeology of the Vrina Plain: an assessment. In I. L. Hansen and R. Hodges (eds), *Roman Butrint. An Assessment*: 119–64. Oxford, Oxbow.

Giakoumis, K. and Karaiskaj, G. (2004) Të dhëna të reja arkitekturore dhe epigrafike për vendndodhjen dhe katolikonin e manastirit të Shën Nikollës në Mesopotam (Shqipëri e Jugut). *Monumentet 2004*: 77–85.

Hansen, I. L. (2009) *Hellenistic and Roman Butrint* (*Butrinti Helenistik dhe Romak*). London/Tirana, Butrint Foundation.

Hernandez, D. R. and Çondi, Dh. (2008) The Roman forum at Butrint (Epirus) and its development from Hellenistic to mediaeval times. *Journal of Roman Archaeology* 21: 275–92.

Hodges, R. (2004) Introduction. In R. Hodges, W. Bowden, and K. Lako (eds), *Byzantine Butrint: Excavations and Surveys 1994–99*: 1–19. Oxford, Oxbow.

Hodges, R. (2006) *Eternal Butrint. An UNESCO World Heritage Site in Albania*. London, General Penne Publishing.

Hodges, R. (2009) Nikita Khruschchev's visit to Butrint, May 1959. *Expedition* 51.3: 24–26.

Hubert, J., Porcher, J. and Volbach, W. F. (1969) *Europe of the Invasions*. New York, George Brazilier.

Karaiskaj, G. (1976) Fortifikimet mesjetare pranë kanalit të vivarit në Butrint dhe restaurimi i tyre. *Monumentet* 11: 147–58.

Koch, G. (1988) Sarkophage der römischen Kaiserzeit in Albanien. *Mitteilungen des deutschen Archäologischen Instituts (Römische Abteilung)* 95: 235–56.

Koch, G. (1989) Grabdenkmäler der römischen Kaiserzeit in Albanien. *Iliria* 2: 151–9.

Lane, A. *et al.* (2004) The environs of Butrint 1: the 1995–96 environmental survey. In R. Hodges, W. Bowden and K. Lako (eds), *Byzantine Butrint: Excavations and Survey 1994–1999*: 27–46. Oxford, Oxbow.

Lepore, G. (2005a) Le altre tombe di età ellenistica, in, La necropolis meridionale: 120–5. In S. De Maria and Sh. Gjongecaj (eds), *Phoinike III: Rapporto preliminare sulle campagne di scavi e ricerche 2002–3*: 101–51. Bologna, Ante Quem.

Lepore, G. (2005b) Le altri siti della necropolis, in, La necropolis meridionale: 144–8. In S. De Maria and Sh. Gjongecaj (eds), *Phoinike III: Rapporto preliminare sulle campagne di scavi e ricerche 2002–3*: 101–51. Bologna, Ante Quem.

Lepore, G. (2007) La necropoli e le aree limitrofe. In S. De Maria and Sh. Gjongecaj (eds), *Phoinike IV: Rapporto preliminare sulle campagne di scavi e ricerche 2004–2006*: 89–102. Bologna, Ante Quem.

Lovejoy, C. O., Meindl, R. S., Pryzbeck T. R. and Mensforth R. P. (1985) Chronological metamorphosis of the auricular surface of the ilium: a new method for the determination of adult skeletal age at death. *American Journal of Physical Anthropology* 68: 15–28.

Martin, S. (2001) *The Butrint Management Plan*. London, Butrint Foundation.

Martin, S. (2004) The topography of Butrint. In R. Hodges, W. Bowden and K. Lako (eds), *Byzantine Butrint: Excavations and Survey 1994–1999*: 76–103. Oxford, Oxbow.

Muka, B. (2005) Le sepulture di età ellenistica: i circoli funerary, in, La necropoli meridionale: 114–20. In S. De Maria and Sh. Gjongecaj (eds), *Phoinike III: Rapporto preliminare sulle campagne di scavi e ricerche 2002–3*: 101–51. Bologna, Ante Quem.

Muka, B. (2007) Ricerche nel settore sud-orientale della necropoli: le tombe ellenistiche dell'area S 16 e i percorsi interni, in, La necropoli e le aree limitrofe: 102–6. In S. De Maria and Sh. Gjongecaj (eds), *Phoinike IV: Rapporto preliminare sulle campagne di scavi e ricerche 2004–2006*: 89–120. Bologna, Ante Quem.

Mustilli, D. (1941) Relazione preliminare sugli scavi archeologici in Albania (1937–40). *Atti della Reale Accademia d'Italia* 2: 677–704.

Pallas, D. (1965) *Die Passion und die Bestattung Christi in Byzanz. Der Ritus das Bild* (*Miscellanea Byzantina Monacensia* 2). Munich, Institut für Byzantinistik und neugriechische Philologie der Unversität München.

Ricciardi, R. (2007) Two Roman monuments: proposals for function and context. In I. L. Hansen and R. Hodges (eds), *Roman Butrint: An Assessment*: 165–74. Oxford, Oxbow.

Rotili, M. (1986) *Benevento romana e longobarda. L'immagine urbana*. Naples, Banca Sannitica.

Toynbee, J. M. C. (1971) *Death and Burial in the Roman World*. London, Thames and Hudson.

Ugolini, L. M. (1927) *Ricerche archeologiche* (*Albania antica* 1). Rome/Milan, Società editrice d'arte illustrata.

Ugolini, L. M. (1937) *Butrinto. Il mito d'Enea, gli scavi*, Rome, Instituto Grafico Tiberino.

Ugolini, L. M. (1942) *L'acropoli di Butrinto* (*Albania antica* 3). Rome, Scalia.

von Hesberg, H. (1992) *Römische Grabbauten*. Darmstadt, Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft.

Notes

1 We would like to thank Richard Hodges for his support, as well as José Cristobal Carvajal López and Benen Hayden for their assistance in the fieldwork. We also thank other members of the team for their contributions, especially Jared Beatrice, David Bescoby, David Boschi, Todd Fenton, Oliver Gilkes, Charlotte Hodges, Nevila Molla and Paul Reynolds.

2 For the urban phases of Hellenistic and Roman Butrint, see Hodges (Chapter 1) in this volume; as well as Hansen 2009; Hernandez and Çondi 2008; Hodges 2006; Martin 2004.

3 Ugolini 1927: 153–7; Ugolini 1937: 43, 158–9, 174; Ugolini 1942: 13, 147–63.

4 Ugolini 1942: 147. Ugolini did not publish tombs that were poorly preserved or similar in type. He might have intended to publish the Byzantine and medieval tombs elsewhere.

5 Ugolini 1937: 174; Ugolini 1942: 152.

6 Ugolini 1937: 174; Ugolini 1942: 152–3, 159, 210. The first two types generally contained grave goods, especially the first, which Ugolini dates to the 3rd century BC. The second type is described as poor in grave goods, although they commonly contain ceramic and glass vessels; he dates this type to the early Roman period. Ugolini's excavations yielded lamps; glass vials; complete ceramic vessels; bronze coins; bronze objects, such as buckles; and in one tomb, a gold earring featuring a nude satyr and a ceramic plate laminated with a thin sheet of gold. One inhumation tomb (tomb VIII) contained a marble inscription in Greek with the name of the deceased, *Titus Pomponius*: a member of the household of Titus Pomponius Atticus at Butrint.

7 Ugolini 1937: 174, fig. 125; Ugolini 1942: 147–51, fig. 149. Ugolini mentions that the foundations of other tombs similar to this one were found in this area of the necropolis, as well as in the cemetery near Xarra.

8 The architectural drawings (elevations, plans, and reconstructions) of the tomb made by Carlo Ceschi, Ugolini's architect, are unpublished. They form part of the Ugolini archive at the Museo della Civiltà Romana in Rome.

9 For the position of the harbour, see Hodges 2004: 17, fig. 1.10.

10 Ugolini 1937: 158–9; 162, fig. 110.

11 According to Ugolini, the tomb was built in the 5th century AD, on the site of a Roman bathhouse. However, William Bowden argues that the original building may have been

funerary, and not a bathhouse, based on a similar tomb dated to the early-mid Roman period discovered at Butrint: Bowden 2003: 46 n. 24, 170–1 n. 23, n. 24; Bowden and Martin 1994: 221.

12 Mustilli 1941: 703–4.

13 Mustilli 1941: 694–5.

14 Hernandez and Çondi 2008: 280–4 (referred to as the Fountain Complex).

15 Budina 1959: 246–55.

16 Budina 1959: 246–55, the proposed 1st-century AD date concerns inhumation burial 2.

17 Budina 1959: 246–55, inhumation burial 6.

18 Budina 1971: 326, 335–6, fig. 36, tav. XXXI.

19 Budina 1988: 27, 77–82.

20 Budina 1988: 80–82 (no. 7).

21 Budina 1988: tav. X.5.

22 For a published summary of the management plan, see Martin 2001.

23 Toynbee 1971: 122–3; von Hesberg 1992: 164–70.

24 See Bescoby in this volume; Crowson and Gilkes 2007: 126–59, as well as Bescoby 2007: 95–96; Lane *et al.* 2004: 27–46; Koch 1988; 1989. See the contribution by Gilkes, Hysa and Çondi in this volume for two further funerary structures.

25 Toynbee 1971: 91–4.

26 Crowson and Gilkes 2007: 157. Many inscriptions from pre-planned funerary plots contain a measure in Roman feet followed by the words *in fronte*, which denotes the frontal distance or frontage of funerary plots purchased from Roman speculators, see Toynbee 1971: 79–91.

27 Crowson and Gilkes 2007: 149–51, figs 8.28, 8.29 (the cremation tomb); Ugolini 1927: 157.

28 As suggested in Crowson and Gilkes 2007: 151, n. 76.

29 Crowson and Gilkes 2007: 119–26, 151–6 (the inhumation tomb).

30 For a discussion of the possible funerary function of the monument, see Ricciardi 2007: 171–2. See also Crowson and Gilkes 2007: 131–5, figs 8.12–8.16.

31 Cf. Hodges 2004: 4, fig. 1.5. The lithograph forms part of a series entitled "Recollections of a Tour in the Ionian Islands, Greece and Constantinople" published by Thomas M'Lean (London) in 1853. Since the ruin depicted is undoubtedly Tomb 1, Cook's drawing represents also the earliest known image of a funerary monument from Butrint.

32 As, for example, the tomb of Sabinus Taurius at Isola Sacra, cf. Toynbee 1971: 103, plate 26.

33 Belting 1981: 53–68; Cormack and Vassilaki 2008: cats 228, 246 and 247; Pallas 1965: 201.

34 Bowden and Mitchell 2004: 120, fig. 7:20.

35 For an overview of Mesopotam, see Bitelli, Girelli, and Vittuari 2005; Giakoumis and Karaiskaj 2004.

36 Belting 1981: 118–26, abb. 36, 39–41.

37 For the angel addressing Zachariah, see Belting 1968: ill. 63; Rotili 1986: pl. XLIV. For the figures of SS. Peter and Paul in the compendium of Canon Law from Pavia, Vercelli, Biblioteca Capitolare Cod. 165, fol. 3r, see Crivello 2005: 82–6, fig. 46; Hubert, Porcher, and Volbach 1969: fig. 159.

38 For the two 18th-century cadastral maps as well as discussion of their date, see Carvajal and Palanco in this volume, and Davies in this volume.

39 Karaiskaj 1976: 151.

40 The information presented here on the human skeletal remains derives from an unpublished report written by Todd Fenton and Jared Beatrice (Michigan State University).

41 Lovejoy *et al.* 1985.

42 Ugolini 1937: 174, fig. 125; Ugolini 1942: 147–51, fig. 149.

43 Muka 2005: 115–16, fig. 8.16, 8.17 (*Tomba 19*); Muka 2007: 102–6, figs 5.21, 5.25. See also Lepore 2005a.

44 Lepore 2005b: 147–8 (sito 18); Lepore 2007: 100–2, fig. 5.17 (edificio 16).

45 Crowson and Gilkes 2007: 151–5; Hernandez and Çondi 2008: 288, n. 57. The masonry type is used also in a tomb on the lower slopes of Kalivo; see Crowson and Gilkes 2007: 154–5.

46 Strabo (7.7.5) calls the harbour of Butrint *pelodes*, or muddy; the appellation might reflect the process of alluvial build-up in the Vivari Channel.

47 Virgil, *Aeneid* 3.299–305.

48 Hodges 2009.

49 See Hodges in this volume (Chapter 16).

Plate 10.1. Phase III paintings on the northern and western walls of Tomb 1

Plate 10.2. Two figures on the western wall of Tomb 1 (left panel, Phase III wall painting)

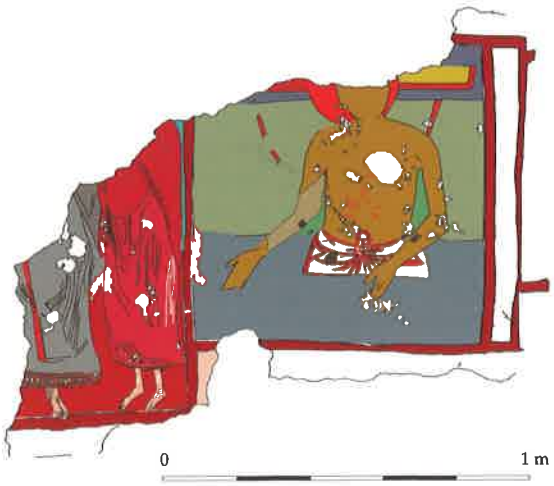

Plate 10.3. Phase III paintings on western wall of Tomb 1

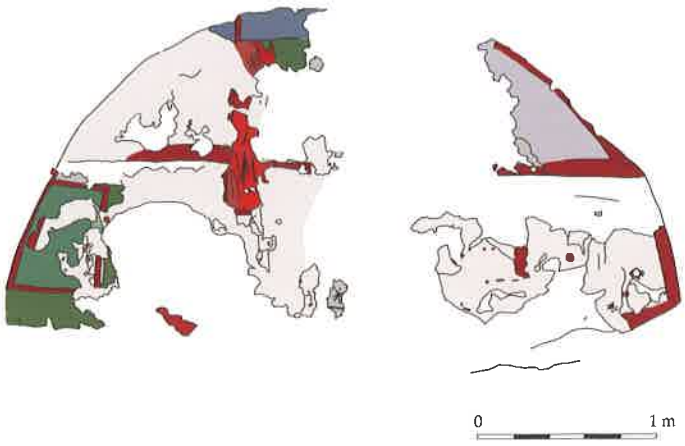

Plate 10.4. Phase I–III paintings on northern wall of Tomb 1